Learning from the Past: Leadership Philosophies of Pioneer Presidents of Historically Black Colleges

By

Olivia M. Boggs

Mercer University

Atlanta, GA

August 9, 2011

Learning from the Past: Leadership Philosophies of Pioneer Presidents of Historically Black Colleges

by

Olivia M. Boggs

ABSTRACT

At the close of the Civil War the United States was forced to grapple with the tremendous challenge of what to do with the millions of newly freed men, women, and children who, for more than three centuries, had been denied basic human rights, including learning how to read and write. During Reconstruction, several educational institutions were founded for the purpose of teaching basic literacy to former slaves. With few exceptions, white missionaries and former soldiers initially administered these schools. However, by the beginning of the 19th century black men and women took on the task of developing and guiding these institutions through the arduous journey of becoming fully accredited, degree-granting colleges during an era of extreme racial tension exacerbated by the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, race riots, political propaganda, and limited governmental protection. This article examines writings and speeches of five of these leaders to determine the philosophical tenets that ultimately sustained these institutions. The five researched presidents are Robert Russa Moton, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, John Hope, Benjamin Elijah Mays, and Mary McLeod Bethune. The research was guided by three questions: What were the beliefs of effective African American college leaders of the past? Do they have implications for academic settings serving large numbers of Black students today? How might administrators learn from the past in order to effectively educate African American college students today? Findings revealed three consistencies among the five leaders: A communicated commitment to the liberation and full participation of Americans of African descent, global identification with people of color throughout the Diaspora, and a well-communicated vision of high expectations for student excellence and success.

INTRODUCTION

The one-hundred and five Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States represent only three percent of all postsecondary institutions in the country, enroll 18 percent of black college students, and award 23 percent of the bachelor's degrees earned by African-Americans (USDOI, 2010). These schools were founded out of the necessity to provide newly freed men and women of color with rudimentary literacy skills that were routinely denied them during 350 years of slavery. While the first presidents (principals) of these institutions were typically northern missionaries, by the early years of the twentieth century a cadre of black leaders were found at the helm of HBCUs. These institutions slowly evolved into accredited colleges and universities that currently graduate over half of African American public school teachers, 70 percent of African Americans who practice dentistry, and 50 percent of the African Americans who go on to graduate or professional schools (UNCF, 2011).

It is notable that the first Black presidents of HBCUs were charged with providing critical leadership during some of the most perilous political, economic, and racially challenging times in American history. This article examines writings and speeches of five of these leaders to determine the philosophical tenets that ultimately sustained these institutions. The research was guided by three questions: What were the beliefs of effective African American college leaders of the past? Do they have implications for academic settings serving large numbers of Black students today? How might administrators learn from the past in order to effectively educate African American college students today?

OMINOUS BEGINNINGS

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries it is conservatively estimated that 12-million men and women were forcibly abducted from various ports of West Africa to accommodate the transatlantic slave trade (Franklin, 1947; Kolchin 2003; Eltis & Richardson, 2002). Profit minded traders were known to force 800 people into spaces meant for no more than 350 for a voyage that often lasted 100 days (House of Commons, 1791). Historians suggest that 2.4 million Africans died in transition due to mistreatment, overcrowding, diseases, and escape attempts (Falconbridge, 1788). Others succumbed shortly after their arrival (Palmer, 1944; Franklin, 1947; Harding, 1981). Research by David Stannard (1992) and others found that the lives lost during the transatlantic slave trade is inestimable, but may exceed the numbers who were actually enslaved.

During a system that lasted for over three centuries, colonies and states enacted laws to clearly define the status of slaves and the total sovereignty of their owners. Known as Slave Codes, the laws delineated the expectations of absolute subservience and penalties for disobedience. An example of the total dominion of master over slave is the following language of the Virginia Slave Code of 1705:

> And if any slave resist his master, or owner, or other person, by his or her order, correcting such slave, and shall happen to be killed in such correction, it shall not be accounted felony; but the master, owner, and every such other person so giving correction, shall be free and acquit of all punishment and accusation for the same, as if such accident had never happened (Article 34)

Teaching slaves to read or write was strictly forbidden with punishment that included fines, whippings, imprisonment, and death. Each of the slave states had separate codes that banned literacy instruction to slaves or free persons of color. The South Carolina law was codified in 1740:

> Be it enacted, that all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe, in any manner of writing whatsoever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money (2 Brevard's Digest, 243).

Similarly, the Georgia Slave Codes of 1848 stated:

> If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, Negro, or free person of color, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court (Sec 2, Art 11)

Initiated by the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and codified by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865), by the end of the Civil War American slavery was banned. The United States was forced to grapple with the tremendous challenge of what to do with the millions of newly freed men, women, and children who, for more than three centuries, had been denied basic human rights, including learning how to read and write. From the Three-fifths Compromise (U. S. Constitution, 1787), the Plessy decision (1896), to the southern Jim Crow laws, history is replete with evidence of America's strong resistance to accepting slaves and their ancestors as equals.

EARLY EDUCATION

From their first entry to the eastern shores, the education of slaves in America consisted of all steps necessary to eliminate African identity, traditions, beliefs, religions, and languages (Green, 2011; Acker, 2009). It became clear that survival somehow involved "taking on the ways of the master." Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, in his epic work *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957) analyzed the ascension of African slaves to freedom as

the degree to which they "had made the greatest progress in acquiring European culture" (p. 19). It was clear that the education of Africans in America was tied to the acquisition and mastery of European behavior, ideals and values. The work of Algerian psychiatrist Franz Fanon (1962) suggests that many subjugated people internalize the notion that their acceptance (and consequent liberation) is largely dependent upon behaving more like the oppressor. Thus the self-concept of broken people is often related to the degree to which they look, talk, dress, and think like the oppressor. Sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois spoke of the internal turmoil that came from being American and Black: " ... two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings in one dark body" (1903, p. 26).

The Freedmen's Bureau Bill (1865) was enacted to assist former slaves during Reconstruction with issues related to employment, housing, education, and health care. The America Missionary Association and other religious denominations such as Baptists, Congregationalists, and African Methodist Episcopalians were instrumental in establishing schools throughout the south whose singular purpose was the education of freed men and women (Gasman et al, 2010). These institutions began with the teaching of basic literacy and general education, and slowly began evolving by the end of the nineteenth century to college level institutions.

With financial support of the second Morrill Act (1890), Black public colleges were established in each of the southern states. By the early days of the twentieth century, significant economic help came from philanthropists such as John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, John Foster Peabody, and Andrew Carnegie (Gasman et al, 2010).

PRESIDENTIAL THEMES

With few exceptions, white missionaries and former military men were the first heads of schools established to educate freed slaves. However, by the early years of the twentieth century African Americans were appointed as principals and presidents of these schools (Jarratt, 2009). Their task was to develop and guide these institutions through the arduous journey of becoming fully accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities during an era of extreme racial tension exacerbated by the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, race riots, political propaganda, and limited governmental protection.

In order to understand the challenges, motivations and guiding beliefs of these men and women, the writings and speeches of five pioneer HBCU presidents were reviewed: Robert Russa Moton (Tuskegee Institute); Mordecai Wyatt Johnson (Howard University); John Hope (Morehouse College); Benjamin Elijah Mays (Morehouse College); and Mary McLeod Bethune (Bethune Cookman College). As one reviews the published writings of these leaders, the following themes emerge:

1. A communicated commitment to the liberation and full participation of Americans of African descent,
2. Global identification with people of color throughout the Diaspora, and
3. A vision of high expectations for student excellence and success.

Consider Robert Russa Moton (1867-1940), 1890 graduate of Hampton Institute and second principal of Tuskegee Institute, following the death of Booker T. Washington. Moton initially failed the entrance exam required to enroll at Hampton, but was finally admitted two years later, graduating in 1890. He later passed the Virginia bar

examination with the assistance of a white lawyer who gave him access to his personal library (Moton 1920; Heinemann, 2011).

Moton asserted that " ... the thinking Negro has come thus to believe not only in his race but in himself as an individua1" (1929, p.46) Later he stated that "the Negro's self respect has been aroused to the point where he will not permit himself to enter an alliance under implications of inferiority." (p. 241). President Moton wrote extensively about the influence of a racist society on the thinking of men and women of color and asserted that, "The Negro is at all-times conscious of the virtual solidarity of white control in American life ... thus a great part of 'knowing the Negro' is a thorough understanding of 'keeping him in his place'." (1929, p. 7). He elaborated through the following passage:

> Public sentiment still effectively eliminates the Negro from equitable consideration in all those matters of common welfare for which government exists ... To talk about the "rights of citizenship" applies to white people; a black man is encouraged to "be a good Negro." Education for all children does not mean black children. (1929, p. 54)

Moton, as evidenced through his writings, had an awareness of the position of men and women of color in America and a vision of how that position could be uplifted. Consider that 45 years earlier, Moton admittedly had no sense of racial consciousness or identity prior to his student days at Hampton. In his autobiography, he wrote of hearing black speakers and learning of the accomplishments of black people. He confessed that the college experience had a deep and lasting effect on his view of himself and his people:

> The truth is it was the first time I had even given serious thought to anything distinctively Negro. This also was the first time in my life that I had begun to think that there was anything that the Negro had that was deserving of particular consideration. (1920, p. 29)

Mordecai Wyatt Johnson (1899-1976), graduate of Morehouse College, the University of Chicago, and Harvard University, was a theologian and the first black president of Howard University. Under his leadership, Howard became a federally funded institution. Johnson established a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa and hired a legendary faculty of distinguished African American scholars that included Ralph Bunche, Charles Drew, Alain Locke, Percy Julian, and Sterling Brown (McKinney, 1997).

Five years before his presidential appointment, Johnson gave one of the speeches at his Harvard commencement entitled "The Faith of the American Negro" (Dykes, 1939). His 1926 inaugural at Howard University established his views on racial consciousness:

> I want my country to conquer all of the inhibitions connected with blackness and all of the fears connected with blackness, but I want the original blackness there and I want that blackness to be unashamed and unafraid. (1977, p. 14)

A man who was often mistaken for white, Johnson appeared to take pride in informing his audiences of his African ancestry. When addressing the sessions of the Atlantic Congress of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Johnson opened his remarks by stating,

> I am the child of a slave. My father was a slave for 25 years before the emancipation; my mother was born in slavery; I have lived practically all my life on the territory of former slave States, so when you hear me talk you are dealing with the real under-developed thing ... (1959, p.1)

In that same address, Mordecai Johnson revealed his global perspective of the economic and political needs of under-developed peoples of the world:

> We see on the shores of Africa instances of the most deliberate and cruel segregation and discrimination of the inhabitants of the country on the land of their fathers and in the presence of the graves of their mothers. Nobody can look at Africa without knowing that we are divided in our minds and that we have not

> yet been able to summon either the political power or the moral power to overcome that division. (1959, p. 2)

Through these writings and speeches, it is clear that the philosophy of President Mordecai Johnson was persistently communicated to the Howard environment. His speeches were constant reminders of the ills of racism:

> Western civilization, Christianity, decency is struggling for their very lives. In this worldwide civil war, race prejudice is our most dangerous enemy, for it is a disease at the very root of our democratic life. (McKinney, 1997, p. 32)

The pride in "blackness" and the identification with people of color throughout the Diaspora is a consistent theme - from his inaugural speech in 1926 to his retirement address in 1960. Mordecai Johnson was president of Howard University for 34 years.

A native of Augusta Georgia and the son of a wealthy Scottish merchant, John Hope (1868-1936) was the first black president of the Atlanta Baptist College (later Morehouse College). At the age of eight, John Hope became painfully aware of the continued racial strife in the south during an event that became known as the Hamburg (S.C.) Massacre:

> On the Fourth of July [1876], the all black town of Hamburg, South Carolina, which was just across the Savannah River from Augusta, was literally wiped off the map by a white mob led by an ex-Confederate general and Ku Klux Klan member. When a white man was inconvenienced in crossing a road being used by the black militia, a large, well armed white mob invaded the town, defeated the black militia and murdered black civilians in cold blood as they attempted to escape across the river (Rushing, p. 8).

Media accounts revealed that the Hamburg riot resulted in the deaths of 7 men and the end of the town.

John Hope was president of Morehouse College from 1813 until his death in 1936. He was educated at Worchester Academy and Brown University and later earned a law degree from Bates College where he became a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Hope

was actively involved in political associations that promoted racial liberation and was a co-founder of the Niagara Movement whose manifesto read, in part, "We want full manhood suffrage and we want it now.... We are men! We want to be treated as men. And we shall win" (Niagara, 1905, p. 2). Hope was also active in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was the first president of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

He encouraged and empowered the young men of Morehouse College to think boldly, globally, and progressively, "We have sat on the riverbank and caught catfish with pin hooks. The time has come to harpoon a whale." And later, "We must get beyond textbooks, go out into the bypaths... and tell the world the glories of our journey" (Torrence, 1948, p. 83).

John Hope personally recruited young men to Morehouse College throughout the south who often reported that they had never seen such a man as this. A young Barnett Frissell Smith said that he had committed to attending Hampton Institute until he heard John Hope speak to his high school in Calhoun, Alabama. After arriving at Morehouse in the fall of 1928, Smith ran out of money after one semester and was packing to return home to earn the funds to return. Mr. Hope and his wife offered the young man an opportunity to work in their home in exchange for tuition. He quickly took advantage of this opportunity, graduated from Morehouse in 1932 with a degree in biology, and eventually obtained a Ph.D. in zoology from the University of Wisconsin in 1944. Barnett Smith credited the caring concern of John Hope to his and his classmates' education (Smith, 1976).

The sudden death of John Hope in 1936 left a critical vacancy at Morehouse

College that was filled by interim leaders until the 1944 appointment of South Carolina native Benjamin Elijah Mays (1994-1984). As was his predecessor, Mays was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Bates College and later earned a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. As a younger scholar, he was recruited by John Hope to join the Morehouse faculty as a mathematics teacher. However, Benjamin Mays was primarily known as a theologian, orator, scholar, and civil rights activist. His writings and speeches provide strong evidence of his philosophies and beliefs.

> I believe in black awareness and black consciousness. No man is free unless he accepts himself for what he is and can become. If black awareness means that black people are proud of themselves, proud of their heritage, apologizing to nobody not even God, for being what they are - black: wholly black, brown-black; yellow-black; or white-black, it is good .... On the other hand, if integration means or implies that one must forswear his identity as a Negro, I reject it. (1971, p. 316)

In his autobiography, Mays asserted that, "All my life the race problem had been as close as the beating of my heart, circumscribing my thoughts, my actions, my feelings." (1971, p. 149) Concerning the role of African American Colleges, President Mays asserted,

> The current emphasis on black studies is a tribute to the black heroes of history who died fighting for freedom and equality during slavery and since emancipation, men who were never ashamed of being black… American education is incomplete and partially false unless it gives credit to the contributions that Afro-Americans have made to the development of this great country" (1971, p.317).

He communicated these philosophies at every opportunity to the students and faculty at Morehouse. His writings indicate a clear identification with and pride in his African American past and his awareness of the problems associated with racism were always clearly communicated.

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955) was the founding President of Bethune

Cookman College. She was a native of South Carolina and one of 17 children born to former slaves. Mrs. Bethune was a founding leader in the black women's club movement, serving as president of the National Association of Colored Women. She was an advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was appointed Director of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration from 1936 to 1944. She was recognized globally by being awarded the Haitian Medal of Honor and Merit and the Commander of the Order of the Star of Africa by the country of Liberia. She also served as National Vice President of the NAACP.

Mrs. Bethune's correspondence, essays, and speeches make numerous references to racial pride and an urgent agenda for development and liberation, locally and abroad. In one such presentation, she wrote:

> We must challenge, skillfully but resolutely, every sign of restriction or limitation on our full American citizenship. When I say challenge, I mean we must seek every opportunity to place the burden of responsibility upon him who denies it. If we simply accept and acquiesce in the face of discrimination, we accept the responsibility ourselves and allow those responsible to salve their conscience by believing that they have our acceptance and concurrence (Bethune Papers, 1997).

She wrote extensively about the urgency of becoming involved politically in order to make a lasting difference. In this, she urged those who are now and will become leaders to get involved on this level: "All of our organizations and individuals who supply leadership must fully acquaint our people with tile requirements of registering and voting, see to it that they are cognizant of the issues involved and get out to register and vote." (1944, p. 258) Her agenda was clear and directly presented throughout her speeches and writings. In all of her presentations, President Bethune made strong appeals to African American women:

> Our women know too well the disintegrating effect upon our family life of our low economic status. Discrimination and restriction have too often meant to us

> broken homes and the delinquency of our children. We have seen our dreams frustrated and our hopes broken. (1944, p. 258).

Mrs. Bethune's most recognized essay was her "Last Will and Testament" (see Appendix A) written shortly before her death and originally published in Ebony Magazine (1955). She begins by stating, "Sometimes as I sit communing in my study I feel that death is not far off. I am aware that it will overtake me before the greatest of my dreams – full equality for the Negro in our time – is realized." The essay is viewed as a cherished legacy and includes the following components:

> I leave you love.
> I leave you hope.
> I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another.
> I leave you a thirst for education.
> I leave you respect for the uses of power.
> I leave you faith.
> I leave you racial dignity.
> I leave you a desire to live harmoniously with your fellow men.
> I leave you finally a responsibility to our young people (Bethune, 1975)

She concludes with these words,

> Faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, responsibility -- these are needed today as never before. We must cultivate them and use them as tools for our task of completing the establishment of equality for the Negro. We must sharpen these tools in the struggle that faces us and find new ways of using them. The Freedom Gates are half-ajar. We must pry them fully open. If I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving. As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of Peace, Progress, Brotherhood, and Love (Bethune, 1975, p. 32).

CONCLUSION

The postsecondary years are challenging for large numbers of students, as evidenced by attrition rates of over fifty percent in many colleges. Only 57 percent of first-time students who were freshmen in 2001 completed a baccalaureate degree by

2007 (NCES, 2010). The concern is particularly acute in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) where the mean six-year graduation rate is 42%. The number of freshmen who fail to return after their first year is alarming and must become a wake-up call for administrators to help faculty and staff to interact with students in ways that are engaging, intellectually stimulating, and promote self-esteem. College presidents and deans are in a pivotal position to arrest negative trends and establish a culturally sensitive climate with approaches that help students, regardless of ethnic, racial, or economic background, to achieve at the maximum level possible within an academically challenging milieu.

From the struggling days following slavery, Historically Black Colleges and Universities have demonstrated a rich tradition of being able to provide exceptional educational experiences for students from disparaging backgrounds and with varying ability levels. These schools have a significant legacy with an impressive roster of alumni and alumnae who have made noteworthy contributions to the world.

The philosophies and beliefs of the five pioneer presidents researched for this paper transcend race and ethnicity and would be beneficial to any college leader seeking to reach, encourage, and motivate students. The challenge for today's college leaders is to prepare students who have the "faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, and responsibility" that Mary McLeod Bethune felt were necessary for progress to continue. Further, students would benefit from the challenge of Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, "to be unashamed and unafraid" and the tenet of Robert Russa Moton, "to believe in himself as an individua1." John Hope reminded students to "tell the story of their journey." During the Morehouse presidency of Benjamin Elijah Mays, students began each morning at

chapel services where he was frequently the speaker. He often used this mantra to remind students of the genius within, “Every man and woman is born into the world to do something unique and something distinctive and if he or she does not do it, it will never be done” (Mays, 1971, p. 17)

REFERENCES

Acker, E. (2009) Black, whites, and shades of gray, *Making Connections: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Cultural Diversity*, 2009, Vol. 11 Issue 1, p76-84

Alexander Falconbridge, F. (1788) An Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa London: J. Phillips, Lombardi Street, (retrieved from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, August 7, 2011)

Berry, G. L. and Joy K Asamen (eds) (1989) Black students: psvchosocial issues and academic achievement (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications) 1989

Bethune, M. (1955) My last will and testament, Ebony Magazine, August 1955

Bethune, M. (1944) "Certain unalienable rights" *What the Negro Wants*, Rayford Whittingford Logan, ed., (New York: Agathon Press) 1944

Bond, H. M. (1965) American Missionary Association College and the Great Society (speech made at the inaugural of Herman Hodges Long as the 9th president Talladega College (special collection of the Atlanta University Center Library March 27, 1965

Clarke, J. H. (1993) African people in world history, Baltimore, MD: *Black Classic Press*

Clarke, J. H. and Harding, V (1970) Slave trade and slaver, New York: *Holt, Rinehart and Winston.*

Cowley, W. H. (1988) Presidents professors and trustees, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass) 1988

Davis, L. (1998) A clashing of the soul: John Hope and the dilemma of African American leadership and black higher education in the twentieth century. Athens: University of Georgia Press

Douglass, F. (1892) The life and times of Frederick Douglass: Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske Co., 1892

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1968) The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois (New York: International Publishers, Inc.) 1968.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903) The souls of flack Folk (Greenwhich, Connecticut: Fawcett Press) 1903.

Dykes, E. B. (1939) Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, *The Message Magazine*, Washington, D.C. Howard University Press (May-June 1939) http://www.adventistarchives.org/docs/MsgM/MsgM19390501-V05-03__B.pdf

Eltis, D. and Richardson, D. (2002) The numbers game. In: Northrup, David: *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 2nd edition, Houghton Mifflin Co., 2002. p. 95.

Fanon, F. (1952) Black skins white masks, (New York: Grove Weidenfeld) 1952

Fisher, J.; Tack, M. W. ; and Wheeler, K. J. (1988) The effective college presidency (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company) 1988.

Franklin, J. H. (1947) From slavery to freedom, New York: *McGraw Hill*

Frazier, E. F. (1957) Black bourgeoisie (New York: MacMillan Company) 1984

Garibaldi, Antoine (ed.) (1984) Black colleges and universities: challenges for the future (New York: Praeger) 1984.

Gasman, M.; Lundy-Wagner, V.; Ransom, T.; Bowman, T. (2010) Unearthing promise and potential: our nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities, *ASHE Higher Education Report*, Volume 35, Number 5, June 2010

Green, T. (2011) Building slavery in the Atlantic world: Atlantic connections and the changing institution of slavery in Cabo Verde, Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries, *Slavery & Abolition*, June 2011, Vol. 32 Issue 2, p227-245

Harding, V. (1981) There is a river, New York: *Harcourt Brace*

Heinemann, R. L. (2011, April 7). Robert Russa Moton (1867–1940). Retrieved August 8, 2011, from *Encyclopedia Virginia*: http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Moton_Robert_Russa_1867-1940.

House of Commons (1791) "Extracts from the evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the years 1790 and 1791" London: L Wayland (retrieved from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, August 7, 2011)

Hughes, W. H. and Patterson, F. D. eds. (1956) *Robert Russa Moton of Hampton and Tuskegee*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Jarratt, S. C. (2009) Classics and counterpublics in nineteenth-century historically black colleges, *College English*, November 2009, Vol. 72 Issue 2, p134-159

Johnson, M. W. (1922) The Faith of the American Negro, *Nation*, 7/19/1922, Vol. 115 Issue 2976, p64-65

Johnson, M. W. (1959) A program to make the 'Free World' truly free," in *The National Guardian*, November 2,1959

Johnson, M. W. (1938) (excerpts from an address delivered in Cleveland, Ohio on "The National Negro Hour" on CBS Radio) reprinted in *The Norfolk Journal and*

Guide, April 30, 1938

Klein, H. S. and Klein, J. (1999) The Atlantic slave trade, Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp. 103–139

Kolchin, P. (2003) American slavery: 1619-1877, New York: Hill and Wang

Mays, B. E. (1971) Born to rebel: an autobiography (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press) 1971.

McKinney, R. I (1997) Mordecai: The man and his message, Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.

Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, on his inauguration as the 13th president of Howard." (1926) in *New Directions: The Howard University Magazine*, January, 1977.

Moton, R. R. (1920) Finding a way out, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1920.

Moton, R. R. Finding a Way Out (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company) 1920.

NCES (2010) Digest of Education Statistics, Table 331 National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, D.C., U. S. Department of Education

Niagara Movement (1905) Declaration of Principles, http://www.nsm.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-niagara-movement.html

http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/collections/etext/dubois/niagara.pdf

Office for Civil Rights (1991) Historically black colleges and universities and higher education desegregation. Washington, D.C. U.S. Department of Education http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/hq9511.html

Palmer, C. (1944) Capitalism and Slavery, Chapel Hill: *University of North Carolina Press*

Patterson, F. D. (1944) The Negro Wants Full Participation in the American Democracy" in *What the Negro Wants*, Rayford W. Logan, ed. (New York: Agathon Press) 1944

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) 163 U.S. 537, Supreme Court of the United States

Ronald S. (1995) The black diaspora: Five centuries of the black experience outside Africa (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995)

Rushing, L. (2005) John Hope: a white man who chose to be black. *Encounter*, Spring 2005, Vol. 18 Issue 1, p6-12

Slave Codes of South Carolina (1740). Acts of the South Carolina General Assembly,

1740 # 670. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina

Slave Codes of the State of Georgia (1848) *Punishment for teaching slaves or free persons of color to read*, Codification Of The Statute Law Of Georgia.

Smith, B. F. (1980) personal interview conducted at the home of Dr. Barnett Smith, July 3, 1980. Atlanta, GA

Stannard, D. (1993) *American Holocaust*. *Oxford University Press*, 1993

The Bethune Foundation (1997) Mary McLeod Bethune Papers: The Bethune Foundation Collection University Publications of America, Elaine Smith, Editorial Advisor, Part 1: Writings, Diaries, Scrapbooks, Biographical Materials, and Files on the National Youth Administration and Women's Organizations, 1918–1955, Bethedsa, MD. http://www.lexisnexis.com/documents/academic/upa_cis/1388_MarMcLBethFoundPt1.pdf

Torrence, R. (1948) The story of John Hope. New York: Macmillan.

U.S. DOI (2010) What are ishtorically black colleges and universities (HBCUs)? U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Educational Partnerships. http://www.doi.gov/hrm/black.html

UNCF (2011) About HBCUs *The United Negro College Fund* New York: NY

U.S. Const. (1787) Three-fifths Compromise, Article 1, Section 2, Paragraph 3

Virginia Slave Codes (1705) An act concerning Servants and Slaves... - 4th Anne. CHAP. KLIX. 3.447. October 1705, Article 34.

West, E. H. (1982) "Robert Russa Moton" in *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*. Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1982: pp. 459–461.

APPENDIX

Last Will and Testament of Mary McLeod Bethune
Originally published in Ebony Magazine, August, 1955

Sometimes as I sit communing in my study I feel that death is not far off. I am aware that it will overtake me before the greatest of my dreams – full equality for the Negro in our time – is realized. Yet, I face that reality without fear or regrets. I am resigned to death as all humans must be at the proper time. Death neither alarms nor frightens one who has had a long career of fruitful toil. The knowledge that my work has been helpful to many fills me with joy and great satisfaction.

Since my retirement from an active role in educational work and from the affairs of the National Council of Negro Women, I have been living quietly and working at my desk at my home here in Florida. The years have directed a change of pace for me. I am now 78 years old and my activities are no longer so strenuous as they once were. I feel that I must conserve my strength to finish the work at hand.

Already I have begun working on my autobiography which will record my life-journey in detail, together with the innumerable side trips which have carried me abroad, into every corner of our country, into homes both lowly and luxurious, and even into the White House to confer with Presidents. I have also deeded my home and its contents to the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation, organized in March, 1953, for research, interracial activity and the sponsorship of wider educational opportunities.

Sometimes I ask myself if I have any other legacy to leave. Truly, my worldly possessions are few. Yet, my experiences have been rich. From them, I have distilled principles and policies in which I believe firmly, for they represent the meaning of my life's work. They are the products of much sweat and sorrow. Perhaps in them there is something of value. So, as my life draws to a close, I will pass them on to Negroes everywhere in the hope that an old woman's philosophy may give them inspiration. Here, then is my legacy.

I LEAVE YOU LOVE. Love builds. It is positive and helpful. It is more beneficial than hate. Injuries quickly forgotten quickly pass away. Personally and racially, our enemies must be forgiven. Our aim must be to create a world of fellowship and justice where no man's skin, color or religion, is held against him. "Love thy neighbor" is a precept which could transform the world if it were universally practiced. It connotes brotherhood and, to me, brotherhood of man is the noblest concept in all human relations. Loving your neighbor means being interracial, interreligious and international.

I LEAVE YOU HOPE. The Negro's growth will be great in the years to come. Yesterday, our ancestors endured the degradation of slavery, yet they retained their dignity. Today, we direct our economic and political strength toward winning a more abundant and secure life. Tomorrow, a new Negro, unhindered by race taboos and shackles, will benefit from more than 330 years of ceaseless striving and struggle. Theirs

will be a better world. This I believe with all my heart.

I LEAVE YOU THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPING CONFIDENCE IN ONE ANOTHER. As long as Negroes are hemmed into racial blocs by prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to band together for economic betterment. Negro banks, insurance companies and other businesses are examples of successful, racial economic enterprises. These institutions were made possible by vision and mutual aid. Confidence was vital in getting them started and keeping them going. Negroes have got to demonstrate still more confidence in each other in business. This kind of confidence will aid the economic rise of the race by bringing together the pennies and dollars of our people and ploughing them into useful channels. Economic separatism cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and it is not practicable. We must spread out as far and as fast as we can, but we must also help each other as we go.

I LEAVE YOU A THIRST FOR EDUCATION. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the privileges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong, purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education.

I LEAVE YOU RESPECT FOR THE USES OF POWER. We live in a world which respects power above all things. Power, intelligently directed, can lead to more freedom. Unwisely directed, it can be a dreadful, destructive force. During my lifetime I have seen the power of the Negro grow enormously. It has always been my first concern that this power should be placed on the side of human justice.

Now that the barriers are crumbling everywhere, the Negro in America must be ever vigilant lest his forces be marshalled behind wrong causes and undemocratic movements. He must not lend his support to any group that seeks to subvert democracy. That is why we must select leaders who are wise, courageous, and of great moral stature and ability. We have great leaders among us today: Ralph Bunche, Channing Tobias, Mordecai Johnson, Walter White, and Mary Church Terrell. [The latter now deceased]. We have had other great men and women in the past: Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. We must produce more qualified people like them, who will work not for themselves, but for others.

I LEAVE YOU FAITH. Faith is the first factor in a life devoted to service. Without faith, nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible. Faith in God is the greatest power, but great, too, is faith in oneself. In 50 years the faith of the American Negro in himself has grown immensely and is still increasing. The measure of our progress as a race is in precise relation to the depth of the faith in our people held by our leaders. Frederick Douglass, genius though he was, was spurred by a deep conviction that his people would heed his counsel and follow him to freedom. Our greatest Negro figures have been imbued with faith. Our forefathers struggled for liberty in conditions far more onerous than those we now face, but they never lost the faith. Their perseverance paid

rich dividends. We must never forget their sufferings and their sacrifices, for they were the foundations of the progress of our people.

I LEAVE YOU RACIAL DIGNITY. I want Negroes to maintain their human dignity at all costs. We, as Negroes, must recognize that we are the custodians as well as the heirs of a great civilization. We have given something to the world as a race and for this we are proud and fully conscious of our place in the total picture of mankind's development. We must learn also to share and mix with all men. We must make and effort to be less race conscious and more conscious of individual and human values. I have never been sensitive about my complexion. My color has never destroyed my self-respect nor has it ever caused me to conduct myself in such a manner as to merit the disrespect of any person. I have not let my color handicap me. Despite many crushing burdens and handicaps, I have risen from the cotton fields of South Carolina to found a college, administer it during its years of growth, become a public servant in the government of our country and a leader of women. I would not exchange my color for all the wealth in the world, for had I been born white I might not have been able to do all that I have done or yet hope to do.

I LEAVE YOU A DESIRE TO LIVE HARMONIOUSLY WITH YOUR FELLOW MEN. The problem of color is worldwide. It is found in Africa and Asia, Europe and South America. I appeal to American Negroes -- North, South, East and West -- to recognize their common problems and unite to solve them.

I pray that we will learn to live harmoniously with the white race. So often, our difficulties have made us hypersensitive and truculent. I want to see my people conduct themselves naturally in all relationships -- fully conscious of their manly responsibilities and deeply aware of their heritage. I want them to learn to understand whites and influence them for good, for it is advisable and sensible for us to do so. We are a minority of 15 million living side by side with a white majority. We must learn to deal with these people positively and on an individual basis.

I LEAVE YOU FINALLY A RESPONSIBILITY TO OUR YOUNG PEOPLE. The world around us really belongs to youth for youth will take over its future management. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be the leaders of tomorrow. Nor must they forget that the masses of our people are still underprivileged, ill-housed, impoverished and victimized by discrimination. We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct their power toward good ends.

Faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, responsibility -- these are needed today as never before. We must cultivate them and use them as tools for our task of completing the establishment of equality for the Negro. We must sharpen these tools in the struggle that faces us and find new ways of using them. The Freedom Gates are half-ajar. We must pry them fully open.